1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225, 262, 565 Ifalik

"The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, then they are on Ifalik. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalū, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight."

"Butchering a turtle is a job performed only by the highest chief. The proper place for it is between the canoe-house called Fan ni Wong (House of the Turtle), and the neighboring homestead, Uelepi, associated with the senior lineage of the Kovalū clan. Asked, in the presence of the chiefs, whether this association of turtles with the highest chief had any religious significance, Tom rather contemptuously denied it. Yet the pattern of associating turtles with high rank, which is widespread in the Pacific, is in some places explicitly religious. As a matter of fact, Tom begrudged the Kovalū clan's [83D] monopoly on turtle, and would be inclined to belittle the privilege in any way he could. He once spoke longingly of a visit to the uninhabited islands, where a man could eat all the turtle he could catch. Yet if the reservation of turtle for Kovalū clan, and the butchering by the highest chief, was thought of as explicitly religious, he would hardly have denied it.

The high chief, Wolpetau, made one job of butchering the three turtles that were caught within a few days. Before he cut them up, the first to be caught was left on its back, alive, for three days; the second for two days; the third for approximately one. Two of the turtles had bodies more than three feet long. The total length of each, with head and tail extended, would have been more than four feet. The third was smaller, with a body--the part within the shell--about 30 inches long. To estimate the total weight of the meat is beyond my capacity; but it must have been fully 100 pounds, perhaps

two or even three times that.

The three turtles lay on their backs in the little grove between Fan ni Wong and Uelepi. The chief Wolpetau, with the aid of his adopted son Uveli, laid them side by side in shallow pits. The two built over them a hot, quick fire of light fuel, mostly dry coconut leaves; to kill them, I was told. After that, Wolpetau did all the work alone. He had for spectators, beside Uveli, two women of the household, his sister and niece; two young men, the niece's husband and another, not of the household, whose relationship is unknown to me; and a small boy of the household, the heir apparent to his title.

When the fire had burned down, Wolpetau hauled the first turtle out of the pit and carefully scraped off remaining bits of ash. Then, with a bush knife I had given him, he cut around the edge of the under shell, following a suture most of the way. At the tail he did not cut as close to the shell as possible, but straight across the base of the tail and the rectum. With this incision completed, he pried off the under shell.

Four iron pots were laid nearby when the work began. Two or three more were brought later. Pieces of each kind of meat were put into each pot, to be distributed as gifts. Three baskets, newly plaited of green coconut leaf, were ready, one for the intestines of each turtle. Several newly cut green leaves served as platters for the larger pieces of meat.

First to be removed were the slabs of muscle (witigo terag) overlying the fore flippers. Then the layer of green fat (ui) over the belly. The intestines (tal) were then hauled out

into the basket ready for them. The fore flippers (iengal) were then neatly cut through at the joint, twisted off, and tossed on one of the open leaves. Lean meat on the lower belly (fitiu) was partly distributed among the pots, the rest thrown on the leaves. Yellow fat (sha), found here and there among the other tissues, was distributed among the pots. A big triangular piece (peral) about the base of the tail was cut in two and put on the leaves. The eggs were left in the shell. The opening of the reproductive organs was thrown away. To prevent the women from hearing, Wolpetau whispered the name of this to me so softly that I could not hear it, either. The women, the least bit ostentatiously, paid no attention.

The other turtles were now cut up in the same way. Butchering all [83E] three made a fairly strenuous afternoon's work for an elderly man. The meat in the pots was cut up and cooked by the women. The largest pieces, those laid on the open leaves, were cooked in an earth oven (um). There was enough meat this time for quite a generous distribution. Not only was one of the pots brought to us, but a small basketful was given to Tom, who ate it all himself."

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

"Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

1. Kovalū: Ko is said to mean something like 'chief' or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is tamōl. Valū means 'land' or 'island'. The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely, if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
2. SauvelarIk. People of FalārIk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that SauvelārIk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on pp. 140 and 141.
3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3. chief.
4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. Rape translated by Tom as 'all same tamōl';

like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)

Sauwēl. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan [90] came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifalik legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwēl, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falārik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.

Bwēl: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.

Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.

Kailangaluaiea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifalik. The members were a woman and her widowed daughter, perhaps also the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, and they are ascribed to Kailangalualea, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and SauvelārIk's to yellow-fin tuna."

"In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifalik during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because the two certain members of this clan were widows. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

Clan	Kovalū	SauvelārIk	Mangaulevār	Rapevelū	Sauwel	Kailang-ailuk	Bwel
Kovalu	x	10	6	1	1	4	1
SauvelārIk	10	x	7	3	3	0	0
Mangaulevār	6	7	x	1	7	6	1
Rapevelū	1	3	1	x	0	0	0
Sauwel	1	3	7	0	x	4	1
Kailangailuk	4	0	6	0	4	x	0
Bwel	1	0	1	0	1	0	x

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true

that the number of marriages is correlated with [91] relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalu, is allied by marriage with all the other clans."

1: Burrows--115
116, 283, 565, 461

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope-making is work for mature man; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Tø Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it 'a chiefly custom' there and adds: 'The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff.' (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifalik the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners."

1: Burrows--115-116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 565 Ifalik

"Division of labor by rank is minimal. If a chief chose to refrain from manual labor, it is my impression that he would be considered within his rights. But the only chiefs who did so in 1947-8--Wolpetau and Paliuilimar--would have been justified by age even if they had been commoners. Maroligar, not very old but afflicated with some pelvic trouble that made his gait a hobble, and gave him painful days after physical exertion, also refrained from heavy work to some extent. But at light tasks he was the most industrious man of our neighborhood, if not of the whole atoll. He took charge of Katēlū, site of the men's house, the former men's house, a canoe-house and two stone piers; and worked daily at removing brush and rubbish, planting little tufts of sod, and similar park-keeping; even, at the risk of pain, piled coral blocks to repair the [116] seaward end of one of the piers, which had been battered by a typhoon. WolpaitIk, youngest of the chiefs and burly--even fat, a rarity on Ifalik--threw his bulk into whatever hard work was going on. Toromann, though slight and getting along in years, was a skilful adzeman, and almost as industrious as Maroligar. He was one of the steadiest workers on Tom's canoe. He also suggested and carried out, partly with his own hands, several improvements in our camping setup."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 565 Ifalik

"Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them."

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

1: Burrows--132
116, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rank is so highly valued and respected that it stands out as one of the master-values of this culture. A hierarchy of rank runs through the whole society. In it each individual has a place; and standards of good behavior require each to show by his conduct that he 'knows his place'. This involves not only deference toward superiors, but a certain lordliness toward inferiors, --not in informal contacts, but on occasions of state. For example, when the highest-ranking chief of Faraulep was visiting Ifalik, and came to the canoe-house where the local chiefs met, Wolpetau remained lying on his back and paid his visitor only a negligent attention; this although he is personally an affable man, rather diffident in manner. The point was that traditionally he outranks the Faraulep chief, and was in duty bound to mark the distinction by his conduct.

It has already been shown (pp. 90, 131) that the chiefs are aligned in a definite order of rank; that the clans which hold chiefly titles have an order of rank corresponding to that of their chiefs; and that clans which have no chiefs rank below those which have."

1: Burrows--132-133 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 565 Ifalik

"Rank, then, is a graded continuum. The sharpest line of cleavage is between chiefs and commoners; and this is in effect a part-time distinction, perceptible only on formal occasions. Ordinarily it would be hard to tell, from the behavior of a group of men, which among them were chiefs. All work and talk together like equals. The chiefs are treated courteously, to be sure, but so is everybody else; for courtesy is another of the master-values. The distinction in rank only becomes apparent in moments of formality. For instance, as already noted, communal tasks of any importance are made the occasion for communal meals, --not to use the word 'feast' for anything so unpretentious. Such meals always begin with the offering of a little food to the gods, with a brief spoken prayer, like the 'grace before meals' customary--or formerly customary--in our culture. When there is a chief present, as there usually is, he is the one to make this offering; or if there is more than one chief, the senior one. That bit of ritual over, he again becomes indistinguishable from the rest. Although chieftainship is hereditary, the chiefs, elevated only by such part-time distinctions, can not be said to constitute a social class, as that term is ordinarily understood. Still less can they and their kinsfolk, whether households or clans, be said to constitute a [133] nobility. For what distinction there is is nearly all individual. The order of rank among clans is manifested only through their chiefs, except when a title is vacated by death and a successor has to be chosen, or--in the case of the two highest-ranking clans--on one rather infrequent occasion: when a turtle is appropriated by Kovalū, or a yellowfin tuna by Sauvelārlk.

In sum, for all the importance of rank in this society, the society is not stratified into classes.

The importance of courtesy, evident in all social behavior, is conspicuous in the treatment of distinctions in rank. When the occasion requires, the distinctions are made and accepted, but unostentatiously. They are not allowed to become invidious. So, while rank serves to enhance the authority of superiors, it is rather successfully prevented from humiliating inferiors, at least overtly. The emphasis--unless in malicious gossip, which would have to be furtive to be tolerated--is on the positive importance of rank, rather than the negative importance of lack of it. Even in the case of chiefs homage is paid to the office rather than the man."

1: Burrows--133 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565 Ifalik

"This fact is evident in the nature of the symbols of rank. They do not consist of emblems or insignia attached to the person and carried about. The reservation of turtle to Kovalū clan and yellowfin tuna to Sauvelārlk, in addition to the practical advantage of use of these delicacies, symbolizes the superior rank of these two clans. This is the symbol that comes nearest to being invidious. Tom, a Sauvelārlk man, fretted under the restriction on turtle. The requirement that the paramount chief butcher turtle in person is an individual distinction. Except for that, the symbolism of this custom distinguishes clans rather than individuals.

Only one other individual distinction was noted, --a bit of symbolic behavior. Once every rag, or twice a year, men from Falārlk district make a ceremonial offering of coconut toddy to the No. 2 chief, the senior man of Sauvelārlk. We saw it once, on November 10. About mid-morning, a file of men came along the path, each carrying a bottle of fresh toddy. Maroligar awaited them on the homestead Somat, between Katēlū and Bwagolei. He does not live there, but now that Bwagolei is uninhabited Somat is the highest-ranking Sauvelārlk homestead, hence the most appropriate site for this little ceremony. There was no elaborate speech-making. The men greeted the chief quietly, put down the bottles of toddy, and squatted on the coral house platform facing him. He saved out some for his relatives, and one bottle for the Americans, but redistributed the rest at once, and he and his callers drank it together."

1: Burrows--133-134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"Far the most conspicuous and important symbol of rank on the atoll is the tract of land called Katēlū, in Rauau district. There are two buildings on it, and a coral platform, now overgrown, where another building stood in ancient times. The two now standing are a canoe-house (generic name Fan ni Wā) and what speakers of English call the men's house, because unmarried men formerly slept there. The native generic name for it is Fan Nap or big house. Both canoe-house and men's house are sometimes called Katēlū, the same as the whole site.

The canoe-house seems to be only slightly more respected than other canoe-houses. In its use for storage of canoes it does not differ from them at all. As a men's club-house, it is used more by the chiefs than by anyone else, but is not forbidden to commoners. It was the regular meeting-place of chiefs during our [134] stay. Whether they would have used the men's house if our tent had not been pitched close beside it, I could not be sure."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565, 532 Ifalik

"The symbolism of rank which invests this building [KS: the men's house] as a whole is reinforced by several of its details. One is that the four corner-posts, unlike those of any other building on the atoll, are not of wood but of the compact beach sandstone called perou. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that one of the men's religious dances is called sur perou (stone corner-post), as if to say 'This is the firm, durable support on which the whole structure rests.' Another is the foremost or seaward one of the row of posts set in the ground which support the ridge-pole directly, another unique feature of this building (p. 48). This front post is called ŏngarIk. This word, too, is used as the name of one of the men's religious dances.

The ŏngarIk, unlike the rest of the row of posts, is hewn square and covered from top to bottom with decorations. A detailed discussion of these belongs with the study of native arts. Most of them seem to have no specific symbolism, only the general purpose of adorning and so dignifying the post. But the most conspicuous one refers to the legend of the massacre of the ancient population of Woleai and the repopulation of the atoll from Ifalik, most important of several such legends which, as will be pointed out (p. 162-3), express the sentiment of rank by exalting Ifalik above the other atolls round about. This symbol is a large phallus, rather realistically carved but painted white. The penis, about 18 inches long, points toward Woleai. It is said to represent the penis of Maur, which pointed toward Woleai in the legend (p. 154)."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"The men's house is far more significant than the canoe-house as an emblem of rank. It is rarely occupied nowadays except when the chiefs summon all the people to gather in and around it for a public meeting. Occasionally a few men-usually chiefs, or at least with a chief among them--gather there to consult together. At least once during our stay a few people, including both men and women, met there to talk with the chief Maroligar. I think, but am not certain, that he performed for them a kind of divination reserved to him, the apparatus of which is stored in this building (p. 189-190). Once a group of women, in response to the chiefs' request or order that a pandanus mat be plaited for Spiro, met in the men's house for part of the work."

"Two other bits of decoration on this post [KS: front post in men's house], in which the specific symbolism is of foreign origin, require mention because of an incident that illustrates both how the people feel about rank and--a related matter--how they feel about the United States.

At the top of the post, when we arrived, was a Japanese flag, painted in black. From the first we thought we would eventually suggest changing this; but decided to let any suggestion of change wait until the people knew us better, and understood that suggestions of change were not what we were there for. (If any such idea of our mission had become current among them, it might have led them to conceal from us whatever of their culture they valued so highly that they did not want it changed.)

Below the flag were some Japanese characters. An American ship, on its next call, brought Cmdr. Kinney, then head of naval government in Yap district. He noticed both the flag and the characters, and had the latter translated. They represented the name Bwongulimoi, paramount chief some years before. Though Commander Kinney made no further comment, I decided to suggest to the chiefs not only that the painting of a Japanese flag be replaced by an American one, but that [135] the name of the former chief in Japanese characters be replaced by the names of all the chiefs then in office, written in the kind of characters Americans use.

As always, the chiefs accepted our suggestion. (Even if they had been unwilling, they might have been afraid not to accept it. Witness a remark by Wolpaitlk, which Tom

translated to this effect: 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. If we don't--no more chiefs!') In due time, Maroligar climbed the post, chipped off the Japanese flag, and--after failing on the first attempt--made quite an exact copy of the American flag given to the island by the navy (pl. 3). I was furnished a board, on which I set about outlining the names of the chiefs.

At this point Tom's thirst for glory made him want his name on the board, too. He argued plausibly that, since he was the interpreter, it would be a convenience for visiting Americans to have that fact posted. In a moment of weakness, I consented to suggest this to the chiefs. They agreed, as they always agreed to our suggestions. So I outlined the names of the chiefs on the board, in capitals; and below them, in smaller capitals and lower-case letters, 'Tom-Interpreter.'

I succeeded only in displeasing all concerned. Tom did not like being distinguished from the chiefs by having his name in smaller letters. The chiefs did not like having the name of a commoner on the ÓngarIk at all, but did not want to offend their American guest. They decided on a characteristic compromise, --to hang my placard on the ÓngarIk only when an American ship was anchored at Ifalik."

1: Burrows--136
116, 565, 576, 487

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of Falărlk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katĕlŭ may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief WolpaitIk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded."

1: Burrows--136
116, 778, 784, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of SauvelārIk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

2: Damm et al. --191
116, 565, 621

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

In addition to the family, there was the clan, as it was described on Polowat. There were the clans Wolél, in which Ligilák was the monáinan in 1909, Ellanáidjáu, Sáuwól, Sáufaláśik and Monólifer.

The population was divided into the following class groups:

a) high chief (tamól, e pi móón) and his family.
b) three lesser chiefs (poirim, áuelig and mánu) and their families.
c) the rest of the population.

2; Damm et al. --191-192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Faraulep

Real estate is divided between the two class groups: the high chief had 24 plots, in addition to Ead and Pix Islands [192] (at times he put tabus on these properties so that no one might go there), the poirím had 17 lots, the aûelig 20, and the mánu 13. They let the villagers till their possessions, and pay for the labor with coconuts.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--255 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Woleai

The counting of the palm-trees... revealed that there were 9480 palms on the island (several hundred very young palm trees and seedlings had not been counted). The three chiefs owned 3430 big palm trees; 5 "minor chiefs" own 3600 pieces; 40 pieces were the property of the unmarried sister of a man from Watoai who though he is living here does not own a single palm tree; he is, however, married abroad. According to the rule of inheritance, palm trees as well as landed property of men who had died without sons or brothers are said to become the property of the chiefs of those who had died. Evidently, however, women, too, could become heirs to their husbands; for each one of 2 widows owned 300 and 850 palms respectively.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565, 558 Elato

Families, ge i leng

On Elato there live four families of which always two and two intermarry; in addition there are two families which constitute the lower class.

The nobles:

1. Mailupūe
2. Gemairēng
3. Maṅau li fūs
4. Zau fēle

The lower class:

5. Ali ti lia
6. Zau üil

In the past No. 2 ranked higher, but in the course of time it has been replaced by 1. The first chief on Elato is a member of the family Zau fēle.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565 Elato

All men may marry into the highest ranking families, although they themselves may come from the lowest.

Poor women, the ordinary people, remain in the im ale gogóbong for four days to "fill the nights" for purification; during that time their name must not be pronounced and not until that period is over do they return to their living quarters. On them lies the sëgë bobo, the taboo of the chiefs. The evening of their departure from the imatamai the wives of the chiefs subject themselves and their servants who have been with them, to the ceremony of the frond of legát; then they go directly to the im. After the birth of the first child the wife of a chief moves as soon as possible into an imalifam (see Oleai), which is located far out on the beach on the weatherside; at night a fire is always kept burning in order that the child may be kept warm and the spirits may be scared off by the flames and smoke which they fear. The husbands do not work in the taro fields during this period of time and all fruit trees are considered taboo; the cutting of toddy is allowed as the one exception. The woman stays away from her house for four months. During the first month she may not go to the waterhole and during the second month she may go out into the taro field but may not do any work. After the fourth month the child is gauák and may be taken away. The cradle of the child is a square frame with net; the type we observed in use is shown in Figure 64; another specimen is in Stuttgart no. 41250 see above photo 7 [VMM: see source].

The woman Ledjelimar of house 10 knew how to practice conjuration of the spirits and the purification of the women after they have left the birth-hut imatamai. Elisabeth

4: Krämer--113 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 565, 846 Lamotrek

Krämer noted the following: Generally several women together leave the hut as the moon is waning completely and with their mats and food assemble around the menstrual hut of one of them. Here the female conjuror sits and makes four elulape, magic knots from coconut pinnae out of ferns (see Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and a bunch of them ealus uru poepoe* which she slowly moved in a circle; [ER: her action is accompanied by special magic words, which are omitted here].

*alus, the spirit, bŏe, the oracle knot... sometimes knots are made of young coconut pinnae; cf. above sarüjü lú bŏbŏ.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

28: Spiro--44 [2]
116, 565, 422, 556

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All of this [WPM: see pp. 43-44] indicates a basic economic equality, and the absence of social classes based on wealth. Though the size of taro patches or coconut groves are not equal, these are so abundant that any inequality is unimportant, particularly where land and trees are viewed purely functionally and not as indicators of prestige. In perishable objects, such as canoes, or rope, or lavalavas, some may own more than others, but this inequality is a function of relative diligence, rather than wealth, for all know the techniques of their manufacture, and accumulate many or little as they see fit. Property is desired and respected, but it is not something which, though aspired to by many can be attained by only a few. It is something that any one with the requisite technical abilities can have, since every one creates his own property."

28: Spiro--136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
565 Ifalik

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, [WPM: The use of the term 'more high' can be seen on p. 136] which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

37: Keiyosei--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.